

THE
WORLD'S MISTAKE
IN
Oliver Cromwell;

OR,
A Short Political Discourse,
S H E W I N G,
CROMWELL'S Mal-admi-
nistration, (during his *Four Years*, and
Five Months pretended Protectorship,)
laid the Foundation of our present Con-
stitution, in the Decay of T R A D E.



In J. Baskett's
5.

LONDON,
in the Year MDCLXVIII.

THE
FIRST PART
IN
Olive-Cromwell;

OF
THE
NEW
CROMWELL
AND
THE
PRESENT ON



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The World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell, &c.



F all the Sins, that the Children of Men are guilty of, there is none, that our corrupt Natures are more inclinable unto, than that of *Idolatry*, a Sin, that may be towards Men, so well as other Creatures, and things; For, as that which a Man unmeasurably relies, and sets his Heart upon, is Called his G O D, even as that which he falls down before, and worshipping: so, when one hath the Person of another in an excess of admiration, whether for Greatness or Richness, &c. which we are subject to adore, we are said to Idolize him; and therefore the wise *Venetians*, who, of all men, are most Jealous of their Liberty, Considering that as the nature of Man is not prone to any thing more than the Adoration of Men; So nothing is more destructive to Freedom, hath, for preventing the Mischiefs of it, made it unlawful, even so much as to mourn for their Duke at his death; Intimating thereby, that their Felicity and Safety depends not upon the uncertain Thred of any one Man's life; but upon the Vertue of their good Laws, and Orders, well executed, and that they can never want vertuous Persons to succeed: and how do such Principles in men, lead by little more than Moralitie, reprove those, who have a great measure of Gospel-light, for their senseless excess, in their adoring the remembrance of *Cromwell*. For as the Objects of Idolatry are mistaken Creatures, or things, proceeding some times from self-love, so well as other Causes, So the undeserved approbation, and applause, that *Cromwell's* memory seems to have with his Adherents, amounting to little less, than the Idolizing of him, appears to me, to be the product of an excessive Veneration of Greatness, and a selfish Partiality towards him; for that the more honour is given to him, the more prayse they think will consequently redound to

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them, who were his Favourites; and they fortifie themselves herein, with the Credit they say he hath abroad, though there is little in that, because the opinion that Strangers have of him, may well be put upon the accompt of their ignorance, in the Affairs of *England*, which Travellers do finde, to be so great, even amongst Ministers of State, as is to be admired. And now as this Error in Idolizing *Oliver* hath two moral Evils in it (besides the sin in it self:) The one, a reflection upon the present times, as if the former were better than these; And the other, the unjust defrauding the *Long Parliament* of that which is due to them, to give it Idolitiously to him, to whom it doth not belong; I esteem it a Duty incumbent upon me, to discover the Mistake. I am not insensible, that I shall by this, draw the envye of those upon me, who, being Jealous of their Honour, will be angry for touching them in their *Diana*; but knowing my self clear, from the Vices of envying Vertue in any, how contrary soever he may be to me in Judgment, so well, as from being unwilling to allow every one their due Commendations, I will cast my self upon Providence, for the success of this Paper; And in reference to *Cromwell's* Government, and the present times, make some Observations relating to both, and, in order thereunto, shew,

First, That the original cause of the low condition that we are now (in relation to Trade) reduced unto, had it's beginning in *Olivers* time, and the foundations of it, layed, either, by his ignorant mistaking the Interest of this Kingdome, or wilfully doing it, for the advancement of his own particular Interest.

Secondly, That his time, for the short continuance, had as much of oppression, and injustice, as any former times.

Thirdly and lastly, That he never in his later dayes, valued either honour or honesty, when they stood in the way of his ambition, and that there is nothing to be admired in him (though so much Idolized) but that the partiality of the world, should make him so great a favorite of ignorance, and forgetfulness, as he seems to be.

When this late Tyrant, or Protector, (as some calls him) turned out the *Long Parliament*, the Kingdome was arrived at the highest

highest pitch of Trade, Wealth, and Honour, that it, in any Age, ever yet knew. The Trade appeared, by the great Sums offered then for the Customs and Excise, Nine hundred thousand pounds a year, being refused. The Riches of the Nation, shewed it self, in the high value, that Land, and all our Native Commodities bore, which are the certain marks of opulencie. Our Honour, was made known to all the world, by a Conquering Navie, which had brought the proud *Hollanders* upon their Knees, to begg peace of us, upon our own Conditions, keeping all other Nations in awe. And besides these advantages, the publick stock, was Five hundred thousand pounds in ready Money, the value of seven hundred thousand pounds in Stores, and the whole Army in Advance, some four, and none under two months, so that though there might be a debt of near Five hundred thousand pounds upon the Kingdom, he met with above twice the value in lieu of it.

The Nation being in this flourishing and formidable posture, *Cromwell* began his Usurpation, upon the greatest advantages imaginable, having it in his power to have made peace, and profitable Leagues; in what manner he had pleased withall our Neighbours, every one courting us then, and being ambitious of the friendship of *England*; But as if the Lord had infatuated, and deprived him of common sence and reason, he neglected all our golden opportunities, misimproved the Victory God had given us over the *United Netherlands*, making peace (without ever striking stroak) so soon as ever things came into his hands, upon equal terms with them. And immediately after, contrary to our Interest, made an unjust Warr with *Spain*, and an impollick League with *France*, bringing the first thereby under, and making the latter too great for Christendome; and by that means, broke the ballance betwixt the two Crowns of *Spain*, and *France*, which his Predecessors the Long Parliament, had alwayes wisely preserved.

In this dishonest Warr with *Spain*, he pretended, and indeavoured to impose a belief upon the world, that he had nothing in his eye, but the advancement of the Protestant Cause, and the honour of this Nation; but his pretences, were either fraudulent

lent, or he was ignorant in Forreign affairs (as I am apt to think that he was not guilty of too much knowledge in them) For he that had known any thing of the temper of the Popish Prelacie, and the French Court pollicies, could not but see, that the way to increase, or preserve the reformed Interest in *France*, was by rendring the Protestants of necessary use to their King, for that longer than they were so, they could not be free from persecution, and that the way to render them so, was by keeping the ballance betwixt *Spain* and *France* even, as that, which would consequently make them usefull to their King: But by overthrowing the ballance in his Warr with *Spain*, and joyning with *France*, he freed the French King from his fears of *Spain*, inabled him to subdue all Factions at home, and thereby to bring himself into a condition of not standing in need of any of them, and from thence, hath proceeded the persecution that hath since been, and still is, in that Nation, against the reformed there; so that *Oliver*, instead of advancing the reformed Interest, hath by an error in his Politicks, been the Author of destroying it.

The Honour and Advantage, he propounded to this Nation, in his pulling down of *Spain*, had as ill a foundation: For if true, as was said, that we were to have had *Ostend*, and *Newport*, so well as *Dunkirk* (when we could get them) they bore no proportion in any kind, to all the rest of the King of *Spains* European Dominions, which must necessarily have fallen to the French Kings share, because of their joyning, and nearness to him, and remoteness from us, and the increasing the greatness of so near a Neighbour, must have increased our future dangers: But this man, who through ignorance, is so strangely cryed up in the world, was not guilty of this error in State only, but committed as great a solecisme, in his designing the outing of the King of *Denmark*, and setting up of the King of *Sweden*: For had the *Sweeds*, but got *Copenhagen*, (as in all probability had *Oliver* lived, they would have done) they had wanted nothing of consequence, but the Cities of *Lubeck* and *Dantzicke*; (which by their then potencie, they would easily have gained) of being Masters of the whole *Baltick* Sea, on both sides, from the Sound or mouth down to the bottome of it; by which, together with all *Denmark*, *Norway*,
and

and the *Danish*, part of *Holstein*, which would consequently have been theirs (they then having as they still have the Land of *Bremen*) there would have been nothing, but the small Counties of *Oldenburg*, and *East-Friesland*, (which would easily have fallen into their mouths) betwixt them, and the *United Netherlands*, whereby *Sweden*, would on the one side to the North, and North-East, have been as great, as *France* on the other, to the South, and South-West; and they two, able to have divided the Western Empire betwixt them.

And whereas, it had in all Ages been the policies of the Northern States and Potentates, to keep the Dominion of the *Baltick* Sea, divided amongst several petty Princes and States, that no one might be sole Master of it; because otherwise, most of the necessary Commodities for shipping, coming from thence and *Norway*, any one Lord of the whole, might lay up the shipping of *Europe*, by the walls, in shutting only of his Ports, and denying the Commodities of his Country to other States. *Cromwell* contrary to this wise Maxime, endeavoured to put the whole *Baltick* Sea into the *Sweeds* hands, and undoubtedly had (though I suppose ignorantly) done it, if his death had not given them that succeeded him, the Long Parliament, an opportunity of prudently preventing it: For if he had understood the importance of the *Baltick* Sea to this Nation, he could not have been so impolitic, as to have projected so dangerous a design against his new *Utopia*, as giving the opening and shutting of it to any one Prince. I am not ignorant, that this error is excused, by pretending that we were to have had *Elsinore* and *Cronenburg* Castle, (the first, the Town, upon the narrow entrance of the *Baltick*, called the Sound, where all Ships Rides, and payes Toll to the King of *Denmark*; and the latter, the Fortress, that defends both Town and Ships,) by which we should have been Masters of the Sound, and consequently of the *Baltick*; but they that knows those Countries, and how great a Prince the *Sweed* would have been, had he obtained all the rest, besides these two Bables, must confess, we should have been at his devotion, in our holding of any thing in his Countries: And further, if the dangerous consequence of setting up so great a Prince, had not been in the case, it

had

had been against the Interest of *England* to have had an obligation upon us to maintain places so remote; against the civility of many States and Princes; and that for these reasons

First, because the ordinary Tolls of the Sound, would not have defrayed half the charge; and so have taken more than the ordinary Tolls; we could not have done, without drawing a general quarrel upon us; from most of the Princes; and States of the Northern parts of *Europe*.

Secondly, because the experience of all former times sheweth us, that foreign acquisitions, have ever been Chargeable, and prejudicial to the people of *England*; as Sir *Robert Cotton* makes it clearly appear, That not only all those Pieces of *France*, which belonged to us by rightfull succession; but also those we held by Conquest, were alwayes great burthens to our Nation, and cause of much poverty and misery to the People. And it is not our Case alone; to be the worse for Conquests; (although more ours, than other Countries; because of the Charge and uncertainty of the Windes and Weather in the Transportation of Succours and relief by Sea; which contiguous Territories, which are upon the Main, are not subject to,) but the Case also of (I think I may say) all other Kingdoms. In *France*, their burthens and oppressions have grown in all ages; with the greatness of their Kings; Nay, even after their last peace with *Spain*, by which they had given them peace with all the world, besides many places in the *Spanish* *Netherlands*, and *Catalonia* into boot; Upon which the poor people promised themselves (though vainly) an unquestionable abatement of Taxes; instead of that, they found their pressures increased daily, and their King, though overgrownly great and rich himself, yet the people so poor, that thousands are said to dye in a plentiful year, for want of bread to their water; nothing being free there; but fresh water and aire; For (except in some few privileged places) wherever they have the conveniencie by their Situation of Sea water, (least they should make use of the benefit of that, which God and Nature hath given them; for saving the charge of Sale,) every family is forced to take so much Salt of the King, at his own rate, (which is above ten times the price it is sold for to strangers, for trans-

migration) it is judged they may spend a year; the Lord
 deliver all other Countries from their example. In Sweden, the
 King, Court, and their Military Officers, are the better for their
 conquests; in Germany, Denmark, Russia, and some places antiently
 belonging to Poland; but the Commons the worse. Spain
 is done by the great number of people sent thence to the West-
 Indies, which hath depopulated the Country, France reaping
 more benefit by keeping their people at home to Manufactures,
 than Spain doth by sending them abroad for Silver and Gold,
 and now, though by these instances it may appear to be the Inter-
 est of the people of other Nations, so well as ours, to live in
 peace, without covering additions; yet it is more our true Inter-
 est, because, by reason of our Situation, we have no need of
 Foreign Frontier Towns; our Ships well ordered, being better
 than other Princes bordering Garrisons; than any other King-
 doms to neglect especially European acquisition, and colonies, and
 apply our selves.

First, To the improving of our own Land, of which we have
 more than we have people to manage.
 Secondly, To the Increasing our Home and Foreign Trades,
 for which we have natural advantages above any other Nation.
 Thirdly and Lastly, if by our strength which Trade will in-
 crease, To make use of it, together with the helps that God and
 Nature hath given us in our Situation, and otherwise, in keeping
 the Ballance amongst our Neighbours. For if the Province of
 Holland, which is but Four hundred thousand Acres of profitable
 ground, is by the benefit of Trade able to do so much, as we ex-
 perienced the last Warr; what might we do, if Trade were im-
 proved, who have much more advantages for it, than they have:
 I ascribe what was done by the Netherlands in the late Warr to the
 Province of Holland; because, that though the Provinces are
 seven in number, Hollands due proportion of all charges, is $58\frac{1}{2}$
 in a hundred, to all the others $41\frac{1}{2}$, of which $41\frac{1}{2}$ Holland gets
 little more than 10, honestly paid them, insomuch, that it alone
 may be reckoned to bear four fifths in a hundred, to one fifth that
 all the other six bears; and how prodigious a thing is it, that
 Holland, no bigger than as before mentioned, should be able to

Coop with *England, Scotland, and Ireland*; and that though the
 Charges in the late War was abundantly greater than ours, yet
 by their good management, so be so little the worse for it, that
 at the conclusion of the War, to have their Credit so high, that
 they could have commanded what Money they had pleased at
 Three in the Hundred, and all this by the meer additional benefit
 of Trade and good Order; and how by *Cromwells* indiscreet neg-
 lecting of Trade, and choosing War when he was in Peace, did
 he miss the true Interest of *England*, as by his ill founded de-
 signs, he did the Interest of the Reformed Religion; For if he
 had succeeded in his unjust Invasion of the Spanish Territories in
 the *West-Indies*, (as God seldome prospereth dishonest under-
 takings) it being intended for a State acquisition, the benefit
 would not have been defensive, but chiefly to himself and Fav-
 orites; and prejudicial to the people in generall, though at the ex-
 pence of their substance, the conquests would have been made:
 For had he met with so much success in the gaining those Coun-
 tries, and in them, that plenty of Gold and Silver as he vain-
 ly hoped for, we should have been as unhappy in them (in the
 depopulating of our Countries, by the loss of the multitude of
 people that must have been sent thither, and in impoverishing our
 Nations by the vast charge of a continual War) as *Spain* is, and
 to no other end, than the making of him only Rich, able to in-
 slave the remaining people, and to make himself absolute over
 them; for the preventing of which, in such Tyrants as *Cromwell*,
Jurely, *Moles*, had an eye, when he said that they should not greatly
 multiply Silver and Gold. And thus, as *Cromwells* designs must,
 to an impartial Judgement, appear to have been laid, some disho-
 nestly, others impolitickly, and all contrary to the Interest of
 the Kingdome, so the Issue of them was dammageable to the
 people of *England*: As, 1st in his sudden making a Peace with *Holland*, so soon as
 he got the Government, without those advantages for Trade,
 as they who beat them did intend to have had, as their due, and
 just satisfaction for their Charges in the War, or benighted uni-
 formly, in his War with *Spain*, by the loss of that benefi-
 cial Trade to our Nation, and giving it to the *Hollanders*, by

whole hands we drive (during the War) the greatest part of that Trade which we had of it, with 35, in the hundred profit to them, and as much loss to us.

Thirdly, by our loss in that War with Spain, of 1500 English ships, according as was reported to that Assembly, called *Richards Parliament*.

Fourthly, in the disgracefullest defeat at *Hispaniola* that ever this Kingdom suffered in any age or time.

Fifthly, and lastly, in spending the great Publick Stock he found, and yet leaving a vast Debt upon the Kingdom, as appeared by the Accompts brought into *Richards Assembly*, which had, (I believe) been yet much higher, but that they who under him managed the Affairs, were a sort of People who had been long disciplin'd, (before his time) to a Principle of Fidelity, and against Cheating; though at censuring the poorer People, for their Masters benefit, some of them were grown as dexterous, as if they had been bred in the Court of Spain; For besides imposing *Richard* upon the People, after his Fathers death, by a forged Title, according to the very Law they took to be in being, when by his Assembly, they were ordered to bring in an Account of the Receipts, and payments of the Kingdom, they made about Sixty thousand pounds spent in Intelligence, whereas it cost not above Three or Four thousand at most, and calculating the rest by these, it may well be concluded, that they were expert in their Trades.

It is confessed, that *Olivers* Peace and League with France, was upon honourable Articles; but as the tottering Affaires of France then stood, much more could not have been sooner asked, than had. For *Mazarine*, being a Man of a large and subtle wit, apprehending the Greatness of England at that time, which was then dreadful to the World, and the Vast advantages France would have in pulling down, by their help, of Spain, granted him, not onely any thing for the present that he demanded, but disregarded also, even his Parties making their boasts of the awe he had him under, Considering, that when *Cromwell* had helped him, to do his Work, in bringing under the House of Austria, and therein casting the ballance of Christendom on his

And he should afterwards have leisure to recover what then he
 seemed to part with; And though nothing is more ordinary
 than to hear Men brag, how *Oliver* vapoured over *France*, &
 do esteem *Mazarine's* complying with him, for his own ends,
 to be the Chief piece of all his Ministry. For by that means only
 and no other, is his Master become so great at this day, that
 no Factions at home can disturb his Peace, nor Powers abroad
 frighten him, Which is more than any King of *France* since
Charles the Great could say. And when his Neighbour Nations
 have (too late I fear) experienced his Greatness, they will find
 cause to Curse the ignorance of *Oliver's* Politicks, and there-
 fore, when a true measure is taken of *Cromwell*, the approbation
 that he hath in the World, will not be found to have its Founda-
 tion in sense or reason, but proceeding from Ignorance, and
 Atheisme. From Ignorance, in those that takes all that was done
 by him, as a Servant, and whilst under the direction of better
 Heads, than his own, to be done by him alone. And from Athe-
 isme, in those that thinks every thing lawful, that a man does,
 if it succeed to his advancement. But they that shall take an im-
 partial View of his Actions whilst he was a Single Person, and
 liberty to make use of his own Parts without controll, will
 finde nothing worthy Commendations, but cause enough from
 thence to observe, that the wisdom of his Masters, and not his
 own, must have been that by which he first moved, and to attribute
 his former performances, whilst a Servant, (as is truly due) to
 the Judgement and Subtily of the Long Parliament, under
 whose Conduct and Command he was. And now from *Cromwell's*
 neglecting to live in peace, as if he had pleaded he might have
 done with all the World, to the great enriching of this Nati-
 on. The improvement of our Victory over *Holland* in his peace
 with them. His being the Cause of the losse of our Spanish
 Trade, during all his time. Of the losse of 1500 English ships
 in that War besides, by it, breaking the Ballance of *Europe*.
 Of the expence of the Publick Stock and Stores he found, with
 the contracting a Debt of Nineteen hundred thousand pounds,
 according to his own accompt, (which for ought I know he left
 behinde him, but am apt to think the Debt was not altogether so
 great,

though made to his Sonne *Richard's* Assembly, as a
 point to get the more Money from the poorer people; And
 many of the dishonourable questions we may have seen published
 may well be Concluded that he lay the Foundation of our present
 want of Trade, and what we formerly enjoyed; and that the reason
 why his mismanagements were not sooner under observation, is be-
 cause our Stock of Wealth and Honour, in his Coming to the
 Government, being then inspeakably great, stifled them ap-
 pearances; until having since had some unhappie additional
 losses, they are now become discernable at first Losses to Mer-
 chant, who Concealedly bears up under them, are afterwards
 discovered by the addition of second Losses, that smite him:
 When I contemplate these great Fallings, I cannot but appre-
 hend the sad Condition many people are in, whose Government
 is on a distinct contrary Interest to theirs, for doubtless Crom-
 well's over-weening Care to secure his particular Interest, against
 the Majesty, & then the Lord, and the Long Parliament, whom
 he had turned out, with a prodigious Ambition, in acquiring a
 power of himself in the World, married him to all his Mistakes
 and Absurdities, to the irreparable loss and damage of this Sa-
 cred Kingdom, more than in any other War: as he would not
 improve the second Assertion, That *Oliver's* Time was full
 of Oppression and Injustice, I shall but instance in a few of many
 particulars, and begin with *John Lilburne*, a man that I think him-
 self kinder one that deserved favour or respect, but that equal
 Justice is due to the worst so well as best men, and that he comes
 last in order of time.

John Lilburne (1649) was by Order of the then Parliament tried
 in his Life, with intent (I believe) of taking him away, but
 the jury pronouncing him Guilty, he was immediately, according
 to Law, generously set at liberty by those that had quarrelled
 against him, or his Example in the Parliament of keeping
 the Law in the case of one, who was a professed implacable
 enemy to them, ought to have been Copied by Cromwell, but
 the contrary, to show that there was a difference betwixt his
 and his Predecessors (the Long Parliaments) Principles, when
 the Law had again upon a second Tryal (occasioned by *Oliver*)
 Cleared.

Cleared *Lilburne*, the Parliaments submitting to the Law was no Example to him; For, contrary to Law, he kept him in Prison untill he was so far spent in a Consumpsion, that he could hardly turne him out to dye. *Mr. Conyars Case* is so notorious, that it needs little more than naming: He was a Prisoner at *Cromwells* Suit, and being brought to the Kings Bench Barr by a *Habeas Corpus*, had his Counsell taken from the Barr, and sent to the Tower for no other reason, than the pleading of their Clients Cause; an Act of Violence, that I believe the whole Story of *England* doth not parallel. *Sir Henry Vane*, above any one Person, was the Author of *Olivers* Advancement, and did so long, and cordially Esponse his Interest, that he prejudiced himself (in the opinion of some) by it; yet so ungratefull was this Monster of Ingratitude, that he studied to destroy him, both in Life and Estate, because he could not adhere to him in his Perjury and Falseness. The occasion he took was this; He appointing a Publick Day of Humiliation, and seeking of God for him, invited all Gods People in a Declaration, to offer him their advise in the weighty affairs then upon his shoulders: *Sir Henry* taking a rise from hence offered his Advise by a Treatise, called *The Healing Question*. But *Cromwell*, angry at being taken at his word, seized, imprisoned, and endeavoured to proceed further against him, for doing only what he had invited him to do; and some may think, that *Sir Henry* suffered justly, for having known him so long, and yet would trust to any thing he said.

In *Richards* Assembly, certain Prisoners in the Tower, under the then Lieutenant, and some sent thence to *Ferby*, and other places beyond the Sea, complained of false Imprisonment. Their Goalor was sent for, and being required to show by what Authority he kept those persons in hold, produceth a Paper under *Olivers* own Hand, as followeth: *Sir, I pray you seize such and such Persons, and all others, whom you shall judge dangerous men, do it quickly, and you shall have a Warrant after you have done.* The nature of this Warrant was by *Richards* Assembly debated, and having first *Richards* own Counsell opinion in the Case, a

Serjeant

Mr. *Maynard*, &c. they Voted the Commitment of the Complainants to be Illegal, Unjust, and Tyrannical; and that first, because the Warrant by which they were Committed, was under the hand of the then (as they called him) Chief Magistrate, who by Law ought not to commit any by his own Warrant. Secondly, because no Cause was shewn in the Warrant; And Thirdly, (in the Case of those sent out of the reach of *Habeas Corpus*, which in Law is a Banishment) because no English-man ought to be Banished by any less Authority than an Act of Parliament. And therefore, for these reasons, they Voted farther, that the Prisoners should be set at Liberty without paying any Fees, or Charges, but the turning out, and punishing the Lieutenant by the Assembly (for obeying so unjust a Warrant) was prevented by their sudden dissolution.

Fourthly, The Tyranny in the decemating a party restored to common Priviledges with all others, and the publick Faith given for by a Law made to that end, by the then powers in being, is sufficiently shewed in the mentioning of it, only there is this aggravating Circumstance in it, That *Cromwell*, who was the principal Person in procuring that Law, when he thought it for his advantage not to keep it, was the only Man for breaking it; But to the honour of his first Assemblie, next following, it may be remembered, that they no sooner came together, than like true English-men, who are alwayes jealous of the Rights and Priviledges of the people, damned the Act of Decemation as an unjust and wicked breach of Faith.

The third Assertion of *Cromwells* knowing no honesty, where he thought his particular Interest was concerned, is made good: First (though therein he mistook his Interest) in his odious and unjust Warr with *Spain*, without the least provocations, meerly out of an ambitious and covetous design of robbing that Prince of his Silver and Gold Mines, and because he judged it for his Credit to disguise his unlawfull desires, he proceeded in it, by employing his Creatures in the City, to draw the Marchants to complain of Injuries done them by *Spain*, and to Petition for Reparations; but by a cross Providence, his Project had a contrary success; for instead of answering his seekings, the Marchants

remonstrated to him, the great prejudice that a Warr with *Spain* would be to *England*, and shewed, that that King had been so far from Injuring us, that he had done more for Compliance and preventing a breach with *England*, than ever he had done in favour of any other Nation: But when *Oliver* saw his Mien would not take, he called the Remonstrators Malignants, and began the Warr of his own accord, in which, he was highly ingratull in designing the ruine of that Prince, who all along had been most faithfull to his Parly.

Secondly, His Felleness and Ingratitude, appeared superlatively in turning out his Masters, who had not onely advanced him, but made themselves the more odious by their partial affection towards him, and in his doing it, with the breach of a positive negative Oath, taken once a year, when made a Councillor of State, besides the breach of all other Ingegements, Voluntary Imprecations, Protestations, and Oaths, taken frequently upon all occasions in Discourte and Declarations; and yet further (when he had turned them out) and left them void of Protection, and exposed them to the Fury of the People, in pursuing them with false reproachfull Declarations, enough to have filled up the rude multitude to have destroyed them, wherever they had met them.

Thirdly, His want of Honour, so well as Honesty, appeared yet further, in that having, by a long Series of a seeming plottish deportment, gained, by his dissimulation, good thoughts in his Masters, the Long Parliament, and by his spiritual gifts, wonned himself into so good an opinion with his Souldiers, (men generally of plain breeding, that knew little besides their Military Trade, and Religious Exercises) that he could impose, in matters of business, what Belief he pleased upon them, he made use of the credit he had with each, to abuse both, by many vile practises, for making himself popular, and the Parliament and Army odious to one another; and because the Artifices he used are too many to innumerate, I shall but instance in some few. As his complaining Insinuations against the Army to the Parliament, and against them to the Army: His being the chief Cause of the Parliaments giving rewards to his Creatures, and then, whil-

Complaints amongst his Officers; of their Idleness & Sloth in
 neglecting the House in their business, by long drawing
 speeches, and other wayes; and then complaining of them to his
 Soldiers, that he could not get them to do any thing what was
 good in giving fair words to every one, without keeping promise
 with any, except for his own advantage, and then excusing all
 with forgetfullness: And his deserting his Major Generalls, in
 their decimations, crying out most against them himself, when he
 only had set them at work, because questioned by his Assembly,
 it not to be forgotten, &c. I would not be understood, to re-
 member any thing here, in Favour of the Long Parliament, for
 what might be Wicked in him, might be Just as to them; And
 though, if what he did, had been for the Restauration of his Ma-
 jesty, he might have been excused, yet being for his own Single
 Advancement, it is unpardonable, and leaves him a Person to be
 truly admired for nothing but Apostasie & Ambition, and exceed-
 ing *Tiberius* in dissimulation. I am not ignorant, that some thinks
 it matter of praise in him, that he kept us in peace, four years,
 and nine months; but that hath little in it, his Majesty having
 done the like, almost double his time, since his Return, with one
 fifth part of that number of Souldiers which he Commanded;
 though he, hath also had the trouble of pressing, and sometimes
 forcing Uniformity in Religion, which he found under severall
 Forms; whereas *Oliver*, kept the Nation purposely divided in
 opinions, and himself of no declared Judgement, as the securest
 way of engaging all severall perswasions equally to him; which
 Artifice, together, with his leaving the Church Lands alienated
 as he found them, were all the true Principles of Politick that I
 know of, which he kept unto. The Honesty of these Principles,
 I refer to the judgement of every mans Conscience; but if we
 may judge of things by experience and Success, they seem to have
 been very happy in the world; For in comparing the Condition
 of the Protestant Countries at present, to what they were in
 times of Popery, we shall find them abundantly more considera-
 ble now, than formerly; for in taking a true Survey of the Re-
 formed Dominions, we shall discover them to bear no proportion
 at all in largeness, to the Popish, and that there is nothing that

keeps the Ballance betwixt the two parties, but the advantage that the first hath, in being free from the Bondage of the Church of *Rome*, and the latter being under it; For as the Church of *Rome* mercies, are (by their Principles) Cruel, so had they power answerable to the naturall richness of the Soyl of their Countries, and extent of their Territories, they would long ere this have swallowed up the Protestant Churches, and made Bonafires of their Members; but as God, in his Mercy and Wisedome, hath by his Over Ruling Hand of Providence, preserved his Church; so for the Romish Churches inability to effect that which they have will, and malice enough to carry them on to do, there are these natural reasons.

First, There being generally of the Popish Countries, above one Moyetic belonging to Churchmen, Monks, Fryars, and Nunns, who like Droans, spends the Fat of the Land, without contributing any thing to the good of mankind, renders them much the less considerable.

Secondly, Marriage being forbidden to all these Sorts, and Orders, occasions great want of people every where, (they being incapable of any Children but those of darkness) except in *France*, which is an extraordinary Case, proceeding partly, by not being so subject to *Rome*, as other Countries of that belief are; but especially from the Multitude of Protestants, that are among them.

Thirdly, The blind Devotion of these People, carrying them on to vast expences, in the building, and richly adorning of many needless and superfluous Churches, Chapells, and Crosses, &c. with the making chargeable Presents by the better, and Pilgrimages by the meaner sort, to their Idolls, keeps all degrees under.

Fourthly, The many Holydayes, upon which, the labouring man is forbidden to work, adds much to their poverty.

But Fifthly and Lastly, The vast number of begging Fryars, who living idly, and purely upon the sweat of other mens browes, without taking any labour themselves, makes it impossible for the lower sort of people, who thinks they are bound in Conscience to relieve them, ever to get above a mean Condition.

Now whoſoever ſhall ſeriously weigh and ponder theſe Circumſtances, under which the Popiſh Countries lyes, and conſider the Reformed advantage in being free from them, muſt confeſs it the leſs wonder, that the Evangelical Princes, and States, with their ſmall Dominions, compared to the others, are able to bear up againſt them; and now as the alienation of Church-lands, the turning out the Romiſh Vermin, the Priests, Monks, Fryars, and Nuns, (who devour all Countries wherever they come) and freedom from the Popiſh Impoſition upon Conſcience, hath mightily increaſed the greatneſs of the Proteſtant Princes, and States, to what they antiently were, and the not doing the ſame in the Popiſh Countries, keeps thoſe Princes under; ſo, even amongſt the Reformed, where the Church-Lands are moſt alienated, and Liberty of Conſcience moſt given, they proſper moſt, as in *Holland*, and ſome parts in *Germany*, with other places. And on the contrary *Denmark*, where Church-Lands are leaſt alienated of any of the Reformed Countries, and the City of *Lubeck*, where, of all the free Imperial Cities of *Germany* Liberty of Conſcience is leaſt given, they thrive leaſt in both places. And I think it will alſo hold, that as this famous Kingdome, in the times of Popery, was in no meaſure ſo formidable as now it is, ſo before the Reſtauration of our Hierarchie their Lands, their hoording up the money which before went in Trade, and their discouraging and driving into corners the industrious ſort of people, by impoſing upon their Conſciences, it flouriſhed more, was richer, and fuller of Trade, than now it is; And I dare undertake to be a Prophet in this, That if ever any Proteſtant Countrey, ſhould be ſo farre forſaken of the Lord as to be ſuffered to turn unto Popery, theſe Obſervations will be made good in their viſible loſſe of the Splendor, Riches, Power, and Greatneſs, that they now know.

Had *Cromwell* been a Perſon of an open prophane Life, his Actions had been leſs ſcandalous; but having been a Profeſſor of Religion, they are not to be pleaded for; neither can it be conſiſtent with Religion to palliate them which have been of ſo much offence, and (as may be feared) made ſo many Atheiſts in the World; And I cannot but ſtand amazed, when

when I hear him revell'd by some, not ignorant of his Practices, knowing his Religion; and (as I hope) fearing God, most mortally pined in against his Enemies. Now I will suppose, I may be suspected to have been injured, or disobligh'd by *Oliver*; but I can with Truth affirm, I never received either Good or Evil from him in all my Life, more than Common with the whole Kingdom (which I think may be allowed to render me the more a Competent Judge in his Case;) and that I am so far from being moved unto this, out of any quarrel to him, that, as I have here mentioned, some few of many Injustices, and State-errors, that he was guilty of in his short time, If I were conscious of any thing more, during his Protectorship, worthy applause, than I have here mentioned, I should not envy it him; but freely remember it; and if any think I have not said enough on his behalf, and too much to his disadvantage, I have this for my Buckler, that I wish I could have said more for him, and had known less against him; professing, that beside what I have here hinted, I am wholly ignorant of any one Action in all his Four Years and Nine Months time, done either wisely, Vertuously, or for the Interest of this Kingdom; and therefore that I am none of his Admirers, I ought to be pardon'd by my Readers.

Much more might be said upon this Subject; but this may suffice to shew, that if *Mazeline* (at the hearing of *Oliver's* death) thought he had then reason for calling him a Fortunate Fool, he were now living he would finde more Cause for it, *Cromwell* Lott, as to Reputation, having been exceedingly much greater since his death, than whilst he was in the World: And from forgetfulness of his impolitick Government, (from whose Entrance we may date the commencement of our Trades decay) And (through want of memory) in mens giving to him the Cause of our former Wealth and Prosperity, which truly belongeth to others. But what opinion soever *Mazeline* may haue of *Oliver*, he was without all peradventure a Person of more than ordinary Wit; and no otherwise a Fool than as he wanteth Honesty, no Man being wise but an Honest Man.

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